UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Unitarians Leave Japan

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

An Observation on the Railroad Problem

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

Words of a Japanese Scholar

By KAKICHI MITSUKURI

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXIX. THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1922 NUMBER 11

Which way are my feet set?
Through infinite changes yet
Shall I go on,
Nearer and nearer drawn
To thee,
God of Eternity.
How shall the human grow,
By changes fine and slow,
To thy perfection from the life—dawn sought?
What is the highest thought?

. . . . . .

Love! Faith is born of it!
Death is the scorn of it!
It fills the earth and thrills the heavens above:
And God is love,
And life is love and though we heed it not,
Love is the final thought.

From "The Final Thought." —*Maurice Thompson.*

What a reactionary time! Ignorance and superstition, laxity and lust, prejudice, hatred and black passion, all belching forth, like the hot lava of a valcanic eruption, and burying the landscape in its seething overflow! Spiritualism, in its crassest and crudest form, is enjoying such a revival as it has not known since the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Pre-millenialism is sweeping the world, like a medieval pestilence, seizing vast multitudes of people with the wasting plague of the eschatalogical expectation. The old attacks against evolution are being renewed, as though their silliness had not been thoroughly exposed a half-century ago; and before us looms the weary job of fighting and winning all over again the battles of Huxley and Spencer. Anti-Semitism is greatly popular. The Ku Klux Klan is resurrected, and seems to thrive on denunciation and exposure. Lawless drinking, vile dancing, indecent plays, gambling, jazz, sexual laxity, and inordinate spending of money in riotous living, are quite the order of the day. While "man's inhumanity to man," conceived in prejudice and born in hate, still writes its melancholy record of misery and death! This is the glorious aftermath of the war that was to save the world! This is the intellectual and spiritual revival that was to follow upon the conquest of Germany! We had it all planned out and perfected five years ago, just as five years before that we had it all planned out and perfected that there was never going to be another war! If out of all this crashing of Fool's Paradise there comes the definite conviction that war is madness and never can bring any good to man, the experience may not be without its uses. But who can say that even this grain of comfort is really left us?

Our pen itches and quivers each day in eagerness to comment on the Genoa Conference. We have persistently repressed its desires, however; partly because the situation changes so suddenly and so rapidly that no comment written in one week is worth anything the next, and partly because the meaning of what is going on from hour to hour cannot be seen and undersood until the Conference has adjourned or broken up, and the whole story is before us. Certain things are plain, however, that the peril of Europe is great, greater than at any moment since the Armistice; that France hopelessly in the hands of her militarists, is the danger-point; that Lloyd-George is fighting heroically, desperately, sincerely, to save a situation for which he knows himself to be so largely responsible, that Russia is central to the solution of the entire problem, and must be received into the family of nations on terms not unsatisfactory to her representatives. If the Conference fails, the Allied entente will end, France will be isolated upon the continent, England will move swiftly and surely to a natural alliance or understanding with Russia and Germany, and preparations will everywhere be begun on a vast scale for the next war which may break out at any time, perhaps on the Ruhr when France begins invasion. The very horror of these possibilities, however, makes us feel that the Conference cannot be, will not be allowed to be, a failure. The entente will hold together, France will be restrained, Germany will be granted a moratorium, Russia will be recognized and helped. So at least we hope! Whether such success will accomplish anything more than the postponement of Europe's final and irretrievable collapse, a Day of Judgment, we do not know. Who does? Meanwhile the world waits breathless for events which must transpire before these words are printed, and may mean things more fateful than any we have known since August, 1914.

In the agitation still going on in this country for the release of political offenders, one hundred and fourteen (114) are still in federal prisons, it is frequently stated all political offenders in other countries have long since been released. This is true, so far as Europe at least is concerned; but there is one great country where political offenders are not only still behind the bars, but are being added to, by new arrests

and convictions, every day. We refer to India. Here the imprisonment, on charges of sedition, of certain distinguished leaders, such as the Ali brothers, Lajpat Rai, and Mahatma Gandhi, has tended to obscure the fact that these men are members of a great company of offenders who are crowding Indian jails to suffocation. According to an Indian newspaper, which has recently come to our desk, there are now no less than *twenty-five thousand* (25,000) men serving prison sentences because of their activities in the movement for *Swaraj,* or national independence. It is a long time since England has played the role of tyrant to this extent. Indeed, unless Ireland be an exception, we have to abandon English history altogether, to find a parallel to such persecution and terrorism as this. It brings to mind the outrages of "Bomba" in Naples, against which Gladstone thundered with such moving eloquence; still more, the horrors of Czarism in Siberia. We wish that some new George Kennan would visit these Indian prisons, and tell us why these twenty-five thousand are confined, and how they are being treated. Such testimony might serve to arouse that English conscience which is so strangely indifferent in the face of these Indian atrocities.

Newspapers report that one of the largest universities in New England is going to teach the use of the pistol to the students who are taking courses in banking. Since this occurs under the most conservative and honorable auspices, we presume this is to be known as 100% Americanism, protection of property, manhood and self-defense. But we cannot help wondering what it would be called if students studying in the Rand School in New York were to be drilled in the gentle art of pistol shooting, as an adjunct to their study of socialism or history! And what if the labor college in Boston were to introduce fifteen-minute practice between two hours in economics? Can anyone doubt that Brothers Lusk and Stevenson would be issuing reports and publishing lists and hurling red epithets through the air? It would be instantly branded as "anarchism," "subservient to American theories of government," and all the familiar catch-words of the past. But being in connection with banking, it is quite 100%.

A group of men sat together in a well-known city club. One of them remarked, "The propaganda that was fed to us during the war was ten per cent untrue." The others laughed. One said, "Why ten per cent?" "Well," was the reply, "I really intended to say twenty-five per cent." A professor in one of our most noted institutions of learning recently said, "I do not know whom I am the more mad at: myself for believing what was told me, or the ones that told me what they must have known not to be true." Slowly the truth is dawning on an increasing number of people that they were tricked by someone. We are coming out into the light. It is hard for some people to find that their holiest passions were played upon by designing and selfish leaders. Their faith in men has been most sorely tried and tested. Many of these have lost all their faith. They are victims of the war as truly as if they had fallen on the field of battle. It is a terrible thing to kill the body, but a vastly more terrible thing to kill a soul.

The sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," seems to be definite. "Thou shalt not kill" would seem to mean, on the surface at least, *thou shalt not kill!* There are millions of good and devout persons, however, who will tell you that this injunction is perfectly consistent with dressing up young men in uniform, arming them with weapons of destruction, and sending them forth to slay their fellows. Jesus' word, "Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also," seems clear as crystal, straight as a beam of light. And yet there are myriads of men who have no difficulty in adjusting it to the militant ideas of reprisal, retaliation, and revenge. The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," would seem to imply that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; but the Supreme Court has decided, with the approval of all good citizens, that laws definitely denying free speech and free press are constitutional. It is perfectly extraordinary, when you come to think of it, what esoteric meanings are hidden away in words that in themselves seem so simple and direct. Is it any wonder that Biblical exegesis and constitutional law are studies which require the labor of a lifetime, when they have to reveal such hidden mysteries as these. Personally we think the man who finds the Great War in the prophecies of Daniel isn't "in it" with the man who finds war in the Sermon on the Mount and the Espionage Laws in the First Amendment.

Books on the problem of the churches are multiplying. The one genuinely hopeful sign, in the field of organized religion, is the recognition of the fact that problem exists, and the determination to find a solution which shall save the churches by making them true instruments of modern religious idealism. Thus, in addition to Mr. Holmes' book, "New Churches for Old," already noted in these columns, we have seen Dr. Leighton Park's new volume, "The Crisis in the Churches," and Professor Charles A. Ellwood's "The Reconstruction of Religion." Of these, Mr. Holmes' book is the most radical in its diagnosis of the situation and its reading of the new religious forces now com-

ing into play in the world, and the most definite and thorough-going in its presentation of a program of reform, which is in brief that of the community church movement. Dr. Park's book, beautifully written and nobly conceived, is more conventional in its treatment of the question, but for this very reason is ideally adapted to reach the people who are still today inside the churches and awaken them to thought and action. Prof. Ellwood's volume has the great advantage of being written by an expert sociologist, who sees the church fundamentally as a social institution, and shows what it can and should do in the field of modern social life. These three books admirably supplement one another. Written the one by a radical clergyman, the other by an orthodox clergyman, and the third by a scholar and university teacher, they all agree that the churches as they exist today have come to the end of their resources; that church unity, *the elimination of denominations,* is the first step of reconstruction; and that social idealism must supplant ecclesiasticism and theology as the center of religious life. It will be interesting to see just how widely these books will be read. Especially will it be interesting to note the reception which will be given them by the religious press. Our guess is that Mr. Holmes' book, "New Churches for Old," will be lambasted good and plenty, that Dr. Park's book will be given mild and harmless platitudes of praise, and that Dr. Ellwood's book will be handled, if at all, as cautiously as dynamite. On the whole, they will be hated as the light is hated by denizens of darkness, and damned with denunciation, faint praise, or studied neglect.

The Watchman-Examiner (April 6) has no illusions about church attendance.

"Concerning the fact itself—i. e., the falling off of the attendance upon religious services in these days—there can probably be no question," says this paper. "People are not going to church as they used to. Only here and there do we find a church habitually filled with worshippers, while in the majority of places the mid-week meeting has become a negligible quantity so far as attendance is concerned."

The Watchman-Examiner finds strange comfort, however, in the fact that "the churches are not the only sufferers in this respect, or even the worst." It then proceeds to quote the results of "an investigation of the attendance at the lodges of a number of fraternal orders," at meetings of the American Legion, etc., and finds "conditions there tenfold worse than in the churches." Thus the Legion in one town had a membership of 1,000 and an average attendance of 60, while a church in the same town had a membership of 1,200 and an average attendance on Sunday mornings of 445, and on Sunday evenings of 206. This sounds impressive! But what virtue is there in a comparison between a *private* business or social meeting of a Legion post, to which members are alone admitted, and a *public* meeting or service of a church, with special music and preaching, which is *"free to all"?* The true comparison would be one between a church service and some Legion meeting which is open to everybody; or one between a regular Legion meeting and a business meeting of the church which is open to members only. "The fact is," says *The Watchman-Examiner,* whistling boldly in the cemetery, "people do not go anywhere today as they used to, except to the movies." Which is potently untrue! People go today just as they did yesterday to any place which holds their interest, stirs their emotions, or touches the realities of their lives.

The Unitarians Leave Japan

The most important religious news that has come to us lately is that of the withdrawal of the American Unitarian Association from Japan. Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Association, on April 11th last, state that Rev. John B. W. Day, who went to Japan in 1920 on the occasion of the retirement of the Rev. Clay MacCauley, to confer with Japanese friends and to learn whether or not a representative of the Association should continue to assist in the Japanese work, reports that in his judgment

the responsibility for the Unitarian work should be transferred exclusively to the Liberal Christian Association of Japan, that the annual appropriation made by the Directors of the American Unitarian Association should cease, and the representative of the Association return to America.

On the basis of this recommendation, the Directors accepted Mr. Day's resignation with proper tributes to his admirable conduct of a delicate mission, asked him to return to this country as soon as in his judgment it was possible for him to withdraw, and authorized the Treasurer of the Association

to sell or otherwise dispose of all the real estate in the Empire of Japan . . . in which the American Unitarian Association has any interest, right or title, and to make such dispostion of the furnishings as may appear expedient to him and to Mr. Day.

Rev. Louis C. Cornish, Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, in a statement in the *Christian Register* for April 27th, last, explains the reason for this withdrawal from Japan as follows:

Japanese life has been changing with amazing rapidity. There has increasingly appeared in the country an intense national self-consciousness and an aversion to foreign leadership that is manifested in various ways. Many of the foreign professors in the universities have returned to their homes, and their places have been filled by Japanese teachers. All the denominations having churches in Japan have found it increasingly difficult to gain a hearing for other than Japanese preachers. This movement has touched every aspect of Japanese life and for obvious reasons has profoundly affected the

chances for leadership by an American Unitarian representative.

There is more in the situation, however, than is here disclosed. Or at least there are aspects which are not made plain in this statement! As long ago as last fall, in the course of correspondence with the Secretary of the Liberal Christian Association of Japan, we learned that the event now announced was pending. Prof. Imaoka, the Secretary, stated very definitely that the liberal religious movement in his country, which had been so long conducted under the generous auspices of the American Unitarian Association, was desirous of severing its connections with this organization, not merely because of nationalistic motives but primarily because of the desire to break loose from all sectarian associations. What is plainly evident is the remarkable fact that enlightened Japanese have become disgusted with the denominational divisions of Christendom, and desire to have nothing more to do with them. They can no longer take seriously a Christianity which undertakes nothing higher than an attempt to convert peoples to the endless divisions of a religion which does not know its own mind and has never found a united consciousness of its own mission. Partly as a result of the growing nationalistic spirit, which of course seeks unity in the national life, but more because of a growing understanding of that essential oneness of religion which makes separation into sects or groups of any kind a betrayal of the spiritual ideal, these Japanese Unitarians no longer want to be known as Unitarians. They desire to hold aloof from their fellow-citizens as little in religion as in other social interests of the Empire. The possibility of community religion, such as has appeared in America, has dawned upon their minds; and their withdrawal from association with the Unitarian movement in this country is only an attempt to realize what we know as the community ideal. Says Prof. Imaoka, in the course of a letter to UNITY:

> What interests me most is the Community Church movement, which is discussed and reported from time to time in UNITY. The same movement, I am fully convinced, should be and will be started in Japan in the near future. Our Association was formerly called the Japanese Unitarian Association, but we changed it last year to the new name, The Liberal Christian Association of Japan, in order that we may prevent our Association being taken for a sectarian Unitarian assocition. There are, however, many members in our Association who do not find any reason for the necessity to keep the adjective, Christian, in the name. They have no objection to inviting Buddhists to join our Association. *One step farther and our Association will be a Community Church in Japan.* . . Looking forward with great pleasure to being able to introduce the Community Church movement to the rising generation of Japanese, I remain, etc.

What we have here is an impressive instance of that logical development of the modern religious spirit which is the dominant religious phonomenon of our time. What has thus appeared curiously enough in a foreign land, is the anticipation of what is sure to appear on a larger scale sooner or later here at home. Indeed, in the Unitarian body itself, in isolated churches like those in New York, White Plains, Pepperill, Danvers etc., this movement away from denominationalism to the unity of religious idealism on the basis of democratic community life, is well under way. A new reformation period has appeared in the Protestant world. Just as the old Reformation was marked by a shift from the church to the Bible as the basis of spiritual integration, so this new reformation is marked by a shift from the Bible (or theology) to the community as the basis of spiritual integration. From now on, with ever growing rapidity, and on a larger and larger scale, we shall see developments exactly like this which has so dramatically taken place in the Japanese Empire. The next step in religious progress is the elimination of every last sign and symbol of denominational organization. Not only the sects of Christendom but Christianity itself will smash all barriers, and find at last that universal kinship in humanity which should long since have been the distinctive achievement of religion.

Incidentally, we would congratulate the American Unitarian Association on the sympathetic, broad-minded and far-sighted attitude which it has taken in this delicate matter. Its conduct throughout, so far as revealed to the public, has been a model of discretion and of fidelity to the highest ideals of the religious spirit. We regard this event, as we are sure all Unitarians regard it, as a transcendently inspiring fulfillment of the best purposes of the Unitarian faith. Here is evidence that Unitarianism has done its work efficiently in Japan! What it has done so well, however, in this distant country, can now be done equally well at home if only the Unitarian cause can be separated from that unfortunate self-conscious denominational spirit which has in recent years grown all too rampant. The best liberal minds, as we chance to know, feel nothing but regret at the present emphasis on denominational drives, denominational membership, denominational work, etc. They wait patiently for the passing of this fever, and the return to sound spiritual health. If the action of individual churches here and there means anything, and especially if this great event in Japan has true significance, Unitarians are nearer than we imagined to the day when they will throw off all sectarian trammels and become true advocates of a universal democratic religion. It is their destiny to lead here as they have led in other fields during the century past; and this destiny, we are now confident, will not be long delayed.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

An Observation on the Railroad Problem

In considering methods of lifting the railroads out of the slough of despair into which they have sunk, it is well to remember two factors which were brought to light by investigations of the Interstate Commerce Commission. (Docket 6934).

The first is the matter of high salaries among officials. We find in the case of one road that the president receives $60,000 per annum; the chairman of the executive committee, $75,000; the vice-president, $50,000; and a member of the board $32,000, etc. In the light of the above, it is interesting to read the recommendation of Mr. L. F. Laree, president of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad, that the Adamson Law be repealed; that the Esch-Cummins Law be stripped of "its socialistic features," and that a "readjustment of wages" be made "sympathetically and yet as rapidly as possible."

Secondly, it is well to remember the lack of social viewpoint in some of the officials and administrators of our roads. The naive and innocent way in which some of these highly educated public servants fail to look at their problem in the light of public ethics is astounding, to say the least. For instance, this delightful dialogue between an officer and a questioner:

Question: "Do you consider that the directors of a railway company, a public service corporation, have the right to do whatever they please with the money of the railway company?"

Answer: "As in their judgment seemed right; yes."

Question: "Did it ever occur to you that the money in the treasury of the railway company was the result of taxation of the public in passenger and freight tariffs, and that the public had an interest in the funds in the treasury?"

Answer: "I don't know that I ever thought of it particularly."

Question: "And that the public had a concern in the funds of the railway company not being dissipated in order that they might be applied to improvements and betterments and to proper purposes?"

Answer: "I never considered that they were dissipated."

Question: "And did it ever occur to you that in taking money from the treasury of the railway company, a public service corporation, an additional burden was placed upon the passenger and freight traffic in order to make good the loss?"

Answer: "No; I never thought of it in that light."

Question: "You don't believe it now, do you?"

Answer: "No."

Fortunately for the poor suffering public these samples of economic enlightenment do not represent the state of mind of all the officials. But they do represent an attitude which must be reckoned with in solving the problem. CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

The Watch On the Rhine

To stand in a pretty park at Coblenz on the bank of the storied Rhine and see the American flag floating from the once forbidden battlements of Ehrenbreitstein upon the opposite shore is to experience a strange emotion. Something somewhere certainly seems to be out of place. For one thing the German Rhine is no longer German. That is obvious—painfully obvious to the taciturn burgers who cross it or who watch it from the bridges and embankments—from the number of barges and narrow river steamers that pass and re-pass along the river with the tri-color of France or the red-starred flag of the Reparations Commission flapping from their flag-poles. One may be perfectly sure that one is an American, but one cannot be so sure that Coblenz is in Germany. For in spite of the great monument to Emperor William I. that stands like a colossus at the confluence of the Mosel and the Rhine, German nationalism seems to have been liberally diluted in more senses than one.

Passing along a narrow street opening upon an arid public square lined with linden trees one may hear drifting through the sultry air of almost any late afternoon in summer, not the fervent crescendoes of *"Deutschland, Deutschland uber Alles"* played upon the trumbones of a German band, but the droning sentimentalities of "There's a long, long trail awinding into the Land of my Dreams" twanged from a sextette of American mandolins (Lyon and Healy vintage of 1918) in the hands of a group of indolent "rookies" in khaki sitting upon a little balcony that looks as if it might have been "lifted" from among the stage settings of some wandering performance of Cavalleria Rusticana. The curious sight seer from Altruria or some more mundane land desiring to see at close range how a military occupation of a civilized community is carried on would not be far from wrong if he framed the conclusion that twanging rag-time from L. & H. mandolins, punctuated by an occasional game of baseball or a more frequent flirtation with a girl, is about the most strenuous activity of the American army of occupation on the Rhine.

The impression undeniably is forced upon a stranger who visits the *"besetzten Gebiete"* along the Rhine that the life which the allied soldiers are leading there would sooner or later demoralize a saint. And when one reflects, with Rudyard Kipling, that "Single men in barracks don't grow into plaster saints," and that the American enlisted man is receiving what in German exchange amounts to a minimum of 6,000 marks a month ($30.00) which is more than the wage of well-paid teachers and clerks, and almost half again as much as the average working-man receives, one may be very sure that the effect upon the morals of these soldiers and upon the younger members of the invested

community is anything but wholesome. A member of the civilian staff of the Rhineland High Commission confessed to me, as we rode about in a military car which was saluted and given favored treatment at every busy street-crossing by a German *"Sicherheits"*-policeman, that he felt that he should have to resign and return to the "States" because his present privileged position was unfitting him for efficient civilian employment and normal intellectual development. He said frankly that he was afraid that he should be unable to avoid over-estimating himself because of the fact that, although he was hardly thirty and was without either conspicuous executive ability or long business training or even a college degree, through the circumstances of war and the influence of his friends, he had been placed in a position, which almost every American official, young or old, tactful or over-bearing, occupies in Coblenz, in which his will is law, his desire a command to hundreds of conquered and humiliated people much older and wiser than himself.

In every city of the occupied areas of Germany the local press is strictly censored and nothing may be published which is displeasing to the military authorities in local command. Many of the regulations which were in force in the United States and other countries during the war concerning the distribution of food, the prices of commodities, and the holding of public meetings are in effect in the military areas. Houses and offices are frequently requisitioned for the use of the military authorities with very little regard to the convenience and comfort, or even to the needs, of their German owners. The best office buildings and homes and even playgrounds and recreation places have been appropriated in this way for the use of the military authorities. How this system operates to the inconvenience or exasperation of the local population may be appreciated from an incident which occurred in one of the occupied towns of the Rhineland.

Some workmen appeared upon the tennis court owned by a Mrs. H, and began to put it in order without any request or permission from her. When she ventured to ask them what they were proposing to do and why, they informed her that her tennis court and ground had been requisitioned for the use of certain military officers stationed in the town. She expressed surprise that she had received no notice whatever of this, and, some hours later, when one of the officers concerned appeared, she learned for the first time that her court had been requisitioned several weeks before and that the officers were proposing to use it on the following morning. Mrs. H., as it happened, had been adding to the diminished income of her family by giving tennis lessons almost every morning and afternoon and had just completed her arrangements for pupils for this season, so that the taking of her court was a matter of serious economic concern to the family. A disinterested member of the Quaker Mission in Germany,—a fine-spirited organization which is providing a daily supplementary meal of nourishing food to more than 800,000 hungry German children throughout the length and breadth of the republic—and who happened to be stationed in this town, was appealed to by Mrs. H. in her anxiety, and ventured to call upon the Assistant Town Major who is responsible for all requisitions. The Town Major, after approving a request for any member of the occupying forces for the use of some house or premises, sends the request to another department of the army which is supposed to investigate whether there is any reason why the premises concerned should not be taken. The German "Occupation Office" is then notified and is instructed to make all the necessary arrangements concerning the rent to be paid to the owners and other details of adjustment.

The Town Major informed the Quaker that the demand for the tennis court of Mrs. H. had been through all of these stages and there then ensued the following sprightly conversation:

Q. "Why must you have this particular court, seeing that Mrs. H. earns part of her family's income by it?"

T. M. "It is the nearest court to the unit which has asked for it, and it is the best court near there; you don't expect us to take a poor court, do you? Why should we?"

Q. "Is not someone supposed to find out whether the court is available or whether there will not be much hardship if it is taken?"

T. M. "We refer it to our Department who are supposed to find this out before they requisition it. Once the requisition has been finally signed, we cannot reconsider it."

Q. "But in this case no inquiry was made of the H——s' as to whether it would involve hardship or not."

T. M. "We have learned better than to inquire too carefully into these things. If we asked first there would always be good reasons why it should not be taken."

The Quaker, who found himself quite helpless in his effort, to relieve the situation of Mrs. H., remarked later with as much wisdom as veracity that:

The worst of it all is that the officers here seem to get into the frame of mind, which is produced by their position, of being autocratic and they inevitably adopt an attitude towards everything and everybody which would not be tolerated for a moment at home. They often forget also that all of the things which they requisition from their German owners *have to be paid for by the German authorities with German money*, although neither the German citizens nor the German authorities have anything to say as to what shall be taken or how it shall be used.

This Quaker happened to be an Englishman with a conscience and his final observation was interesting. He said:

I think that it is only that we English are not so hot-headed as the French, and that we do not have the personal hatred of the past forty years behind us, that prevents our occupation from being as openly intolerable as is that of the French. The 12th of May (the date of the threatened French invasion of the Ruhr) may easily be a fatal day for all the countries concerned. Would to God that England had the courage to refuse to take a share in it.

Passing down the Rhine to Cologne one of the first things to be noticed in the way of a proclamation upon the walls of that crowded city is a notice tacked on the door of the ancient Gothic Rathaus, signed by the commanding general of the British forces of occupation, prohibiting all public gatherings or demonstrations without previous permission of the military authority, yet in spite of this the suppression of the customary evidences and indispensable mechanism of democracy—the free public assembly—and in spite of the tremendous rise in the cost of all the commodities necessary to civilized existence since the occupation, it must be written that there is an amazing lack of hostility, at least of visible incivility or bitterness, on the part of the invaded populations of the Rhine. The longer one remains in Germany the more is one astonished at the simplicity and friendliness of the people. A clew to this lack of what one would expect to find in a vanquished population, particularly in that part of it which has endured the humiliation of supporting an alien army in its midst may be found in the statement of a German lady who had lived in Cologne all her life. She said:

Before the English came we starved. There was neither butter nor milk nor white bread nor much of any meat to be had, and the food and clothing shops were destitute of many necessities and of all the luxuries of life. With the arrival of the English, business has revived. Prices have risen enormously, but there is also more money in circulation and the shops are filled with good things, with food stuffs and even dairy products brought from England, France and Scandinavia. Many of the English officers and men we have found friendly. I have just married one. I had two English officers billeted in my house. They invited some others to spend the evening, and I made some punch. One of the guests tasted the punch and said he would not leave Cologne until I had agreed to marry him. It was just like that—*echt amerikanisch!*"

Of the matrimonial question on the Rhine, like that of morals in general, it is difficult to speak because statistics are not available beyond the statement of the British authorities that there were 112 marriages between members of the English army of Occupation and German citizens up to January of this year. It is of some interest, however, that the French have strictly forbidden their soldiers to mingle upon terms of familiarity with the local population of the areas which they occupy and the atmosphere is much less friendly and much more tense in the French areas than elsewhere. The billeting of negro troops from the Senegalese velt in the civilized homes of German citizens, whether an accident or a deliberate policy of French militarism, is partly responsible for this situation and needs no further condemnation than it has already received everywhere except where it is most needed—in France. It is only fair to say in this connection, however that the Director of a large maternity hospital in Southern Germany has reported that the blame for the most unfortunate results of this mingling of black and white is not all upon one side and that there have been exaggerations particularly in the allegations of violence. But this does not mitigate the infamy which the presence of these troops creates nor lessen the menace which they constitute among other things to the labor movement. For it must not be forgotten that these black troops from the heart of Africa, alien alike to European conventions and institutions might be used against Europeans in their domestic struggles for larger freedom and justice in a manner in which European soldiers would never permit themselves to be used.

In the American area of occupation there are now approximately 8,000 troops with nothing to do. General Allen is nominally a member of the Rhineland High Commission but, inasmuch as the United States has not ratified the treaty of Versailles, he sits in that body without legal or rather without treaty authority by the invitation or the sufferance of the Allies. The impression is unavoidable that there is little that he or his capable representative, Colonel Stone, can do to mitigate the severity of French policy, granted his desire to do so. The expenses of the American army of occupation have already amounted to the staggering sum of 268,840,000 gold marks, which has been assessed against the German government. From this sum must be subtracted the value of German ships seized by the United States government during the war—a sum which has not yet been officially fixed. Germany has already paid about 25,000,000 gold marks or about 9 per cent of the assessment for the army of occupation in the form of paper marks, foodstuffs and material, including about 5,000 military motor-trucks delivered by the German government to the American army. These charges are entirely separate from and in addition to the 132 billion gold marks fixed as the German debt in the final ultimatum from the Allies which the German government has undertaken to attempt to pay.

The presence of the American army on the Rhine added nothing to the prestige of the United States in Europe. Its officers were able to exert no effective influence for moderation upon the policy of the Allies. The presence of this military force, on the contrary, gave and still gives added menace to everything which the Allied governments were and are doing or threatening to do, only a small portion of which can possibly be known in Washington or to the American people. Why is this army still here? In what respect does it serve any intelligent or worthy American purpose, or contribute to the security of Europe or the peace of the world? *None may say.*

Whatever is to be the future of the remaining military American forces now marking time on the Rhine, the suggestion ought to be made and made effectively that the huge sum of money which has been assessed upon the German government for its maintenance be turned into the form of a great reserve fund for the granting of credits desperately needed by peaceful industries throughout the bankrupt central European states, for guaranteeing or helping to guarantee an international uniform currency to be issued in the name of the Supreme Council or the Genoa Conference or the League of Nations or any super-national authority—a stable medium of exchange of international character would do more than any other single thing to promote the confederation of Europe and the peace and economic well-being of the world—or that it be turned simply into the form of food and relief for the starving victims of blockade and war and the post-bellum economic paralysis that is steadily sapping the life and culture of all of Europe. Such a suggestion, if acted upon with that American liberality and efficient disinterestedness of which we love to talk and which occasionally does command and does deserve the hushed wonder of the world, would not only turn a destructive and useless employment of military force into a healing and enduring power for good but would be entirely consistent with the distinguished tradition begun by Secretary Hay when, in response to memorials from the Presbyterian Church and many lay associations of citizens, he returned the Boxer Indemnity to China in the shape of an endowment for the education of Chinese students in the United States—an event of which Americans are justly proud and Chinese justly appreciative to this day. Another opportunity, and a greater, is at hand. Is there a statesman or a public opinion to seize it and turn a negative and costly display of American military force into a positive and creative expression of American idealism?

Berlin, Germany. BRENT DOW ALLINSON.

ON ONE CONDITION.

Heaven has given us a full purse
And is under pledge to keep its contents replenished
On one condition—that we spend like a God!

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

An American Imprisoned in India

Imprisonment of the American, Mr. S. E. Stokes.

Among the hundreds arrested and thrown into prison by the British Government in India because of their support of the Non-Coöperation movement, is Mr. S. E. Stokes, an American of some distinction. Mr. Stokes is of well-known Pennsylvania Quaker stock. Thirty years ago he went to India and has lived there ever since. During the Great War he was so thoroughly in sympathy with England that he naturalized as a British citizen, was made an officer in the army and did important service in recruiting and training Indian volunteers. He believed that in generous recognition of India's loyalty during the War, and the very great aid which she furnished (a larger number of soldiers than Canada, Australia and South Africa combined), more privileges and greater freedom would be granted by Great Britain to the Indian people. But when the War was over, to his disappointment and dismay he found them treated with greater tyranny and cruelty than ever. The arbitrary and unwarranted arrest and imprisonment on baseless suspicion and without trial, of loved, honored and wholly loyal Indian leaders, the passing of the tyrannical Rowlatt Act, the suppression of newspapers and of free speech and finally the brutal massacre of 1200 unarmed and peaceful men, women and children at Amritsar, in April, 1919—these acts destroyed his faith in the British Government, and caused him to join the Non-Cooperation movement of Mr. Gandhi as India's only possible hope.

During the past year and a half he has written and spoken much in support of that movement, and has been a member of the All-India Congress Committee.

Now he has been arrested, given a pretense of a trial within the jail and committed to prison on the charge of so speaking and writing as to incite hatred toward the Government. In a printed statement issued by him he denies having written or spoken anything anywhere calculated to produce hatred on the part of any hearer or reader. His word everywhere has been: "Not by hatred or anger or violence can we gain our end if our end is worth the gaining. Where we see injustice, tyranny, evil, or wrong let us stand unflinchingly against them at any cost, hating the deed but never the doer. If we fight with the ignoble weapons of pride, hate and prejudice, we are undone even if we win a sort of unmoral victory. But if we fight in the spirit of true nobility, God and Eternal Justice fight for us, and the victory is certain. So fighting even defeat is victory."

What has angered the Government more than anything else, perhaps, is the fact that Mr. Stokes has shown from the highest and most trustworthy Indian and British authorities, which cannot be refuted, that British rule instead of having been a blessing to India, has been an evil,—that it has not only robbed the nation of its freedom, and, to use the language of Austen Chamberlain, degraded the people to the position of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for alien masters, but that in the interest of her manufacturers England has destroyed the manufactures of India, which once were flourishing and a source of great wealth to the nation, and has reduced the people of the country to conditions of poverty which are simply indescribable. The facts which Mr. Stokes has thus had the courage to bring to light and to declare are so startling and so important that all the world ought to know them. I will cite a very few, partly in Mr. Stokes' language, partly in that of the authorities from whom he quotes, and partly in my own. The manufactures of India before the advent of the British were in a highly flourishing condition, and were in demand from practically all parts of the civilized world. European traders were attracted to India by these highly valuable manufactured wares. The fame of the fine muslins of Bengal, her rich silks and brocades, and her choice cotton prints, had spread not only over Asia and northern Africa but also widely in Europe. All these products of the loom (especially the silks) were sold abroad in vast quantities. The Indian cities were populous and some of them magnificent. When Clive entered Murshudebad, the then capital of Bengal, in 1757, he wrote of it: "This city is as extensive, populous and rich as London." But under British rule a change very soon came. The art of spinning and weaving, which for ages had afforded employment for a large and industrious population, began to decline, and was soon practically destroyed. Britain wanted the raw products of India, but she would not tolerate India as a competitor in manufactured goods. As a result everywhere families which had been formerly in affluence became reduced to penury. The most profitable Indian industries, not only textile but of nearly every kind, decayed and largely died out. That is the condition of things today.

The natural resources of India vie almost with those of America, but they are in the control of the British, and, as a result, either they are imperfectly developed, or else their development takes large the form of exploitation by and for the benefit of, the foreign masters of the land.

Says Mr. Stokes:

> An India supplying the looms and mills and factories of England with raw products and in turn compelled to be dependent upon England for all its more important manufactured articles, is not a spectacle which tends to reconcile the Indian patriot to the loss of his subtle, refined and highly developed oriental arts, the very secrets of which, under compulsory disuse, are tending to pass away; nor, does it tend to reconcile him to the decline and decay of that constructive genius and that mechanical ability which once flourished among the Indian people, the splendid fruit of which one sees to-day in the old remarkable Canal System of Upper India, and in the glorious "Taj Mahal of Agra."

It is not strange that the proclaiming of such facts as these causes the British rulers of India to wince.

Continues Mr. Stokes:

> The Non-Coöperative Movement is charged with promoting disorder. I reply that no group of people in the land is more anxious to maintain law and order than Mahatma Gandhi and those associated with him. I can say of those of us who have been imprisoned, that while we were at large the greater part of our thought and effort was devoted to insuring that order be kept; and since we have been incarcerated a great part of our anxiety is that the masses of the people everywhere shall remain true to our great leader's injunctions as to perfect non-violence. But while order is necessary, I submit that it is not the only need of the Indian people. A dead man is the most orderly and peaceable man in the world. We object to the orderliness and the peace that mean death to India. We have striven earnestly to teach the people to be non-violent and free from hatred; but no less earnestly we have striven (and so long as we live we shall strive) to awaken in them new life, new aspiration, new courage, a new spirit of independence and manhood, and a new determination to be free.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Non-Coöperation in America

The noncoöperation movement in India is one of the wonders of the modern world. Here is a March number of the Los Angeles *Times*, giving the first place on its first page to an article two columns wide, illustrated with a picture of Mahatma Gandhi, in which the movement is set forth without a word of unfavorable criticism. This may constitute with many who know The *Times* a serious criticism in itself of Gandhi's work in India, but such a conclusion fails to take many facts into account besides the conservatism of the chief Los Angeles daily. Even a rebel looks heroic when seen from a distance, as witness our celebration of George Washington's birthday. Had *The Times* been published in Washington's day, in New York, Washington would have been about as acceptable to it as "Gene" Debs or "Bill" Haywood are now.

Gandhism is more than a political movement. It is a religion among most of the followers of this amazing Indian leader. With that thought uppermost in my mind I came away from my first meeting with the man who plans to overthrow British rule in India by political non-violence and disobedience.

So, in black-faced type, heavily leaded, begins this "exclusive dispatch" under the signed name of John Clayton. And the article itself gives an excellent setting forth both of the person of Gandhi and of the movement which he is leading so effectively to-day.

I do not remember that the Irish movement for non-coöperation with England pending the admission of Ireland's right to self government ever evoked such an article from any of the special correspondents of the conservative dailies of the Pacific Coast, nor did I see anything of the sort in the big dailies of the east. And I am very certain that if anything like "Gandhism," to use a term employed in this particular article, were attempted here in America such papers as the *Times* would be ready to provoke mob violence against the prophets and promoters of it.

Yet there is no country in the world that is more in need than is America just now of an understanding of Gandhi's movement and of such an understanding as would inspire Americans to "go and do likewise." I am by no means clear in my own mind how this is to be brought to pass, and it is for this reason, rather than with the thought of presenting a program of "non-coöperation" here that I am writing this article. Perhaps I am all wrong about it, and if so I shall welcome correction. But I "have a concern," as our gentle-minded "Friends" would say, a concern so constant and intense that I must needs unburden myself by at least telling it to others.

My concern is not to advertise Gandhi, or to increase the growing appreciation of him in America. I have been reading lately the very remarkable book containing his speeches and writings, which has just come to us from India, and I would, indeed, it might have a wider reading than it is likely to get. Nor do I begrudge to the great Indian leader any praise which may come his way, even from those whose praise is commonly regarded with just suspicion among us.

But it is America which concerns me, and not India just now. And it is in particular our own California. I have lived in this State now almost thirty years, and it is more than thirty years since I first traversed it from end to end. I know the State almost as I know my own town, and while I am wholly out of sympathy with the vast volume of lying which goes on about our climate and other alleged attractions I am sincerely appreciative out of a fair acquaintance with all America as well as all California of the actual merits of this mighty commonwealth.

Yet at the present time California deserves to be boycotted by every decent liberal in the world almost as much as does the government of India by the natives of that long exploited land. And that not because of the exploitation of America and the world by the "boosters" of this big western State, though a considerable bill of indictment could be written on this score. But just now California is about the most barbarously intolerant commonwealth in America with respect to free thought and free press and free assembly on the part of any who are at outs with the existing capitalism. I do not know of any section of America, outside the pocket boroughs of the coal and oil barons in West Virginia and Pennsylvania, where conditions are worse than they are here so far as that which Bernard Shaw calls "the vindictive insanity of the American courts" is concerned. Men are being railroaded to the jails here in batches, and in Oakland the other day certain champions of labor who are among the finest type of Americans I know, having been under individual indictment for months, with their cases postponed again and again to their great cost and inconvenience, were sought to be re-arrested on the same charges, that they might be herded together under an ex-post-facto law and tried in a bunch, and as a bunch railroaded to the Penitentiary. I could, would space permit, tell a story of a fine-souled comrade, one of the truest and kindliest men I have ever met who had risen from a sick bed to keep his family company at his birthday party, and who was seized and dragged away to jail at night, despite his weakened physical condition and kept there over the next day, which was a holiday, although he had been out for months on heavy bonds for the same identical "offense." But the county officials sought some excuse to prosecute as a group men whom they were afraid they could not convict singly.

However I write not to provoke sympathy for these, any more than admiration for Gandhi. I write as a pacifist, one who has himself had experience of jail life and counts it his highest honor to have had the experience, to my fellow pacifists of America.

And I have just this word to say, brethren, that it seems to me we pacifists of America are a pitifully ineffective lot. We admire Gandhi, at a distance, but we are as far from following him as the Los Angeles *Times* itself. England fears Gandhi and his hosts, but nobody bats an eye-lid for us, to speak in American terms. I confess that I do not know just how we are going to mend the matter, but I am restless and sick at heart with the sense of our incompetence. We petition and we petition and petition, but what does it all amount to after all? Is there not something we can *do?* I mean not violence by this question, but quite the contrary. Violence is coming, but largely because we pacifists have as yet suggested no non-violent way which has any effectiveness about it. If we do not provide a way for an effective non-violent protest then the protest will come with violence, and I cannot see that we shall be in any position to say

it nay. Some form of self-sacrificing, suffering, massed non-coöperation we must work out here in America against our own tyrants and usurpers or else we speak in vain for pacifism. Is there nothing that the rest of America can do to bring California to her senses, for instance? And is there not among us some man who will lead the way in a practical pacifism for all America which will fill our jails to over-flowing for awhile if need be, but will eventually bring to our land that redemption without which the whole world will wait in vain for America to do her part in the present crisis of world affairs? The worst apathy in America to-day is that of the pacifists themselves, and nothing here seems to me more tragically ineffective than the protests of those who protest in such a feeble way.

Los Angeles, Cal. ROBERT WHITAKER.

Words of a Japanese Scholar

[Dr. Kakichi Mitsukuri, dean of the College of Science in the Imperial University of Tokyo, who died in 1908, was perhaps the most profound, broadminded and personally competent of all the scientists of Japan. His education was mainly acquired at Yale and Johns Hopkins. He was the colleague of the present writer on the International Fur Seal Commissions of 1896 to 1898, and ever after a highly valued personal friend.

In 1902, at the beginning of the Anti-Japanese movement in California, I received from him a personal letter, which I quote below, for its words are as pertinent to-day as they were twenty years ago.—DAVID STARR JORDAN.]

The history of the international relations between the United States and Japan is full of episodes which evince an unusually strong and almost romantic friendship existing between the two nations. In the first place, Japan has never forgotten that it was America who first roused her from her lethargy of centuries of secluded life. It was through the earnest representations of America that she concluded the first treaty with a foreign nation in modern times, and opened her country to the outside world. Then, all through the early struggles of Japan to obtain a standing among the civilized nations of the world, America always stood by Japan as an elder brother by a younger sister. It was always America who first recognized the rights of Japan in any of her attempts to retain autonomy within her own territory. A large percentage of foreign teachers working earnestly in schools were Americans and many a Japanese recalls with gratitude the great efforts his American teachers made on his behalf.

Then, kindness and hospitality shown thousands of youths who went over to America to obtain their education have gone deep into the heart of the nation, and, what is more, many of these students themselves are now holding important positions in the country, and they always look back with affectionate feelings to their stay in America. Again, such an event as the return of the Shimonoseki indemnity—the like of which is seldom witnessed in international relations—has helped greatly to raise the regard in which America is held by the Japanese.

Neither is it forgotten how sympathetic America was in the late Japan-China war.

Thus, take it all in all, there is no country which is regarded by the largest mass of the Japanese in so friendly and cordial a manner, as America.

It is, therefore, with a sort of incredulity that we receive the news that some sections of the American people are clamoring to have a law passed prohibiting the landing of Japanese in America. It is easily conceivable to the intelligent Japanese that there may be some undesirable elements among the lower class Japanese who emigrate to the Pacific Coast, and if such proves to be the case, after a due investigation by proper authority, the remedy might be easily sought, it appears to us, by coming to a diplomatic understanding on the matter, and by eliminating the objectionable feature. The Japanese Government would, without doubt, be open to reason.

But to pass a law condemning the Japanese wholesale, for no other reason than that they are Japanese, would be striking a blow at Japan at her most sensitive point. The unfriendly act would be more keenly felt than almost anything conceivable. An open declaration of war would not be resented as much.

The reason is not far to seek. Japan has had a long struggle in recovering those rights of an independent state which she was forced to surrender to foreign nations at the beginning of the intercourse with them, and in obtaining a standing in the civilized world. And if, now that the goal is within the measurable distance, her old friend, who may be said in some sense to be almost responsible for having started her in this career, should turn back on her, and say that she will no longer associate with her on equal terms, the resentment must necessarily be very bitter.

The entire loss of prestige in Japan may not seem much to the Americans, but are not the signs too evident that in the coming century that part of the world known as the "Far East" is going to be the seat of some stupendous convulsions from which great nations like America could not keep themselves clear if they would? And, is it not most desirable that in this crisis those countries which have a community of interests should not have misunderstandings with one another? It is earnestly to be hoped that the American statesmen will estimate those large problems at their proper value, and not let them be overshadowed by partisan considerations.

For my part, I can not think that the American people will fail in this matter in their sense of justice and fair play toward a weaker neighbor, and such a movement as the present must, it seems to me, pass away like a lightmare. But, if ever a law should be passed directed against the Japanese as Japanese, it will be a sorrowful day personally to me.

It was my good fortune to pass several years of my younger days in two of the great universities of America and to be made to feel at home as strangers seldom are. I would rather not say in what affection I hold America, lest I be accused of insincerity, but this much I may say, that some of the best and dearest friends I have in the world are Americans.

But the day such law as spoken of should be enacted, I should feel that a veil had been placed between them and myself, and that I could never be the same to them and they to me. May such a thing never come to pass! KAKICHI MITSUKURI.

A Book a Week

Mary Badolett Powell Memorial

THE WHITEHEADED BOY. A comedy in Three Acts. By Lennox Robinson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"The White Headed Boy," by Lennox Robinson, is in a word too good to miss. It is a rollicking comedy, so deliciously human, so beautifully real, so alive, that not to see it or read it would be a great pity.

The phrase "white headed boy" is colloquial Irish for "favorite son." Denis, the youngest son of Mrs. Geoghegan's six children, is the object of all the proud altruism, the recipient of all the favors and the beneficiary of all the sacrifices of his mother, three sisters and two brothers. He was denominated "clever" and "different" while still in the cradle; his career has been planned for him from his birth. He must be a physician, he must go to the university at Dublin, he must marry a wealthy girl; all the other members of the family must stand aside, and not idly either, that he may justify the ambitions of his mother. So be it. But unfortunately he fails three times in succession in his examinations; and his eldest brother, the titular head of the family, ordains that he may not return to the university; instead he must go out to Canada and make his own way without further help from his clan. He is willing to go; he has always done what they wanted, made good their expectations to the limit of his ability. Now he wants to be free, he loathes being guided about like a helpless infant; he wants to make decisions for himself, to dispose of his own life as it pleases him, to be something more than the mere creature of his tribe and friends. But complications are forthcoming. He is commanded to break his engagement with Delia, the lovely daughter of John Duffy, postmaster and publican. He obeys this final order, writes a farewell letter to the girl, and goes off to pack his trunk for the voyage. But Mr. Duffy, may it please you, is not to be treated like that: his daughter is not to be cast off by Mrs. Geoghegan's "white headed boy" without something to alleviate her suffering. Denis' brother is known to be well-to-do; he has a draper's establishment in his own name. So Mr. Duffy, the fond father that he is, comes into the Geoghegan family circle to announce that he intends to sue for heavy damages unless Denis and Delia are allowed to marry. The family is panic stricken. Anything but a damage suit. Will Mr. Duffy settle the matter privately? He finally agrees; in fact he settles it privately with Denis' brother, mother and aunt, all separately and at a fine profit. But Denis has not been called "clever" all his life for nothing. He decides that he will marry the girl and that instantly, and that he will stay in Ireland whether or no. Coming from the church, after the wedding, he gets employment running a steam roller. The announcement of his twin victories is too much for all concerned, except the principals; it is too much even for John Duffy, who is not easily defeated.

The play is perfectly organized,—as well built as a good house. It is the work of a master craftsman, dealing with materials he understands thoroughly, using his tools with a practiced and sympathetic hand. I consider the result one of the most skillful accomplishments of its kind that I have ever read from the pen of a modern author. There is not a single situation that I should change—or wish to change—if I were producing it in a theatre. The whole thing is as clean and fresh as a willow. To play it would be a real happiness. The part of the publican, John Duffy, is especially rich; it could be done perfectly by Dudley Digges, the *Boss Mangan* of "Heartbreak House."

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

AND THE GREATEST OF THESE.

The night has left me deep in thought—
Thought centered in a dream:
I dreamed that all the earth had passed away,
And all the poets time had known, in silent vast array,
Before the high Tribunal came to pass.
And on a throne of marble wrought,
With piercing eyes agleam,
An Angel with recording tablet sat—
To choose for Heaven a Poet Laureate.
And he saw through their souls as though through glass.

The first man whom he questioned, said—
"I wrote because the checks
Failed not to come to me. My works were vast."
The Angel sighed "Pass—Greed!" and on him cast
A frown. Another stood before the throne,
And said, "I wrote for fame. I shed
All petty greeds that vex
The brain, like shackles from mine eyes. "Thy worth,"
The Angel said, "Is known across the earth.
Pass on. Thy name is graven on the stone."

Then came a woman, sad of face,
Who cried "I wrote for love!
But he was lost to me—my works were vain!"
"You have no thought but for your own heart's pain,"
The Angel sighed, "Pass on." . . . So, one by one
The poets were gone into space:
All those who fought and strove,
And won and failed: the great, small, mean, and good.
Until at last before the Angel stood
A man, like those who had preceded none.

He raised his deepset eyes and said:
"Oh, judge of all,—I wrote
Because I heard earth's heart-sick women weep—
To dry their tears and lull their woes to sleep.
The cries of little children reached my ears—
I begged of life to give them bread.
I saw the putrid moat
Of vice, and all the weak ones in its grasp.
I tried to send them faith and hope to clasp
To their starved hearts. I strove to calm their fears.

I saw strong men do battle, and—
I cheered. Laughed with the glad.
I followed the example of Abou Ben Adhem, when
I wrote because I loved my fellow men."
And then across that throng in tones none may forget
The Angel spoke. With gentle hand
He drew the Poet. "Lad—
The task is done. Come, sit beside me, thou:
This throne is thine—this laurel for thy brow."
I looked—and lo! *The Angel's eyes were wet!*

JOSEPH ANDREW GALAHAD.

WHAT IS MOST BEAUTIFUL?

Of all that is beautiful in the universe
I will tell you what is most beautiful:
It is the beauty of the soul of one who is in love with beauty.
Everything beautiful lends itself to enhance the beauty of the beauty-loving soul.
The beauty-loving soul possesses in his love of beauty.
The magic whereby all things are transformed into beauty.
All things become beautiful when they find fulfilment
In the soul of one who loves beauty.

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

CORRESPONDENCE

More on the Turkish-Armenian Question

Editor UNITY:

In the March 16th issue of Unity I read a letter from New York headed "The Turkish-Armenian Question," and signed "Mary C. Trask," in which the writer censures me for my articles that have appeared in Unity.

Will this writer "Mary C. Trask" kindly bring to the surface the "reasons that do not appear on the surface"? Will she also kindly give "the other side of the Turkish-Armenian matter"?

The thing for her to do is to prove by a counter statement of facts that the statements I have made are not true. If she cannot prove this, then she has no right to censure my writings, since both justice and humanity demand that the truth should be given publicity in the cause of the wronged, the suffering and the oppressed.

As for the quotation from my article in Unity "It does not pay to hate, but it pays to love," which she counsels me to practice, I am sorry if what I meant is not clear to your readers. In my own mind I did not connect that sentiment nor the one that followed it with the Turks, as I would not stoop to any kind of a plea or even the semblance of a plea in connection with them, but when I wrote

"It does not pay to hate, but it pays to love,
No more does it pay to do unto other nations as we would not
that nations should do unto us,"

I was alluding to the big governments of Europe. It has not paid, and it will not pay them, to have done unto Armenia what they would not that other nations or governments should do unto them.

Since it is evident that Mrs. Trask will not allow herself to believe what an Armenian writes on "The Turkish-Armenian matter" or "The Turkish-Armenian Question," I would recommend her to read on the subject Bryce and Sepsius; also Martin Nepage, Ambassador Morgenthau, Strummer, Herbert Adams Gibbons, Helen Davenport Gibbons, Arnold Toynbee, A. Adossides, Rose Lambert, Naisu Bey and a host of other non-Armenian writers.

Also I would recommend her to read the records of the sittings of the German Court in Berlin in the trial and acquittal of the young Armenian student Solomon Thalesian who shot and killed Talast Pasha in a street of Berlin. The minutes of that full court in session, comprised of judges, procurator, counsels for the prosecution, counsels for the defense, twelve jurymen composed of German citizens, and the evidence of several witnesses of the Armenian massacres were published from day to day in the German papers; and so horrible and revolting were the revelations in the case that a unanimous verdict of acquittal was given by German judge and jury in favor of the accused.

If Mrs. Trask will acquaint herself with the publications I have mentioned she will have an insight into "The Turkish-Armenian matter." As food for reflection I would further recommend Chateaubriand's utterance, *"L'éspece humaine ne peut que gagner à la destruction l'Empire Ottoman."*

As regards what I have written about Soviet Russia, I can say that in the thirteen years of my continuous and unceasing work in the Armenian cause I am responsible for a vast amount of writing in which I have exposed the oppressions and cruelties of Tsarist Russia towards my nation, but as far as Soviet Russia is concerned the following lines which appeared in my article, "Why Armenia Suffers" and which I quote here:

"Bolshevik Russia is Europe, and the Turkish state (with rival European interests within the borders) is Europe, and Armenia is hard pressed between the two" was the first and only comment or expression of opinion to which I have given publicity.

The Armenians established an independent state (self-aided) in the northern corner of Armenia, they called it a "Republic," and the only request they made of Bolshevik Russia was to leave them alone to work out their own salvation on the soil of their own country.

But following the wanton and desolating Turkish invasion of October, 1920, without any apparent cause or previous warning, a Bolshevik army entered Armenia and by *force majeur*, imposed on the Armenian Republic the Soviet form of government; thereby adding to the misery and suffering of a people who had already suffered so much.

I am sure American sense of justice will concede that Armenia must be governed by the will of the Armenian people, and Armenians subjected to a system of government of their own choosing; also that the efforts and sacrifices of the Armenians to establish a free Armenian State on a corner of the soil of their own country, should not be destroyed and nullified by others.

I am, however, hoping now that Soviet Russia will recognize the justice of the Armenian claim, and leave Armenians to a regime of their own choosing and their right to a free and independent Armenian State.

Armenians do not meddle in the affairs of Russia. Why should Russia meddle in the affairs of Armenia?

As for friendship and alliance between Russia and Armenia, Armenians the world over are ready to live in peace and friendship with their big neighbor; in fact they have no other alternative. Armenia has not it in her power to molest Russia, therefore Russia should not molest Armenia.

DIANA AGABEG APCAR.

Yokohama, Japan.

A Plea for Truth in All Propaganda

Editor of UNITY:

It is to be deplored that your correspondent Bertha Sullivan Papazian realizes so little the necessary part that atrocity stories always play "as an accompaniment of all war," as Mr. Holmes expressed it in his sermon, "The Vindication of Pacifism." It can be truthfully said of the Turkish atrocities, as Mr. Holmes said of similar tales circulated during the great war, that they are "extremely exaggerated," that reputable evidence "cannot be disclosed to support the greater ones," and that abundant evidence can be adduced to prove many of the stories to be "foul lies."

I will refer readers of Unity to Grattan Geary's "Through Asiatic Turkey," Sir Charles Wilson's article on "Armenia" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the works of Sir Mark Sykes, and "Turkey in Europe," by "Odysseus."

The latter days, referring to the "hellish" and "unutterable" forms of torture of which Turks are so freely accused and which he says he believes to be largely the invention of wicked and somewhat prurient brains:

> "Medical testimony makes it certain that no human being could survive the tortures which some Armenians are said to have suffered without dying."

Sir Henry Layard, in a letter to Lord Derby, writes:

> "There are persons, and amongst them I grieve to say Englishmen, who boast that they invented stories with the object of 'writing down' Turkey, to which they were impelled *by a well-known hand.*"

There is no need, I take it, to remind readers of Unity that sundry correspondents have admitted doing this very thing in the matter of German atrocities in Belgium. It is a fact that the renowned war correspondent, the late Melton Prior—since he could not find them—refused to invent pictorial representations of injured Armenian women and children and desecrated Armenian churches. Other correspondents, however, were not so scrupulous—either in respect to the Armenians or the Germans—and the worst canards found corroboration in this way.

That there have been massacres of Armenians by the Turks no one will deny. I, least of all; but in considering the question of such infamies we must always bear in mind that mob law is inevitably cruel and senseless—be it exhibited during the French Revolution, in lynching bees in America, pogroms in old Russia or in Poland today, or as evidenced by unutterable horrors like that of Amritsar in India, under the British General Dyer. (These were all of *Christian* origin.) That cruelty and "fanaticism" and the "iron hand" exist today in a world governed on the supposition that Might makes Right, no one would question, but that these qualities belong exclusively to any one nation or people or religious sect is too stupid a generalization to be entertained for one moment. Americans persecuted witches in Salem and hanged them on Boston Common yesterday, and burn Negroes at the stake today; British tied Indians to the mouths of cannon yesterday and suffocate a hundred and more of them in a box-car today; Catholics staged the Inquisition and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and Protestants burned Servetus—the forerunner of our liberal faith. Here again Christians furnish me material for illustration! Looking at the subject from all angles shall we not at least use cautiously that classic phrase, "The unspeakable Turk"?

It is well for us to recognize the fact, too, that atrocity stories are a part of either war-time or peace-time propaganda and false propaganda is one of the most deadly of the modern weapons—the most deadly because it admits of measureless subtlety; because there is a Yellow Press to further it—and manufacture it; because there is unlimited money, always, to

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

A TRIBUTE TO OUR FELLOW-EDITOR, FRED HANKINSON.

[Note: The following tribute to the work of Mr. Hankinson in Hungary, is reprinted here as fitting recognition of his notable service during the last two years. Mr. Hankinson has now returned to his home in London.—EDITORS.]

The Hungarian Relief Organizations of the English Mission Worker, Mr. Hankinson.

THE AUGUSTA COLONY.

The whole institution consists of 3 little rooms in all, and those in a barracks, and yet when we enter, we get the impression of a true work of culture. The 3 rooms are the Augusta colony day home for children, where 22 tiny children enjoy supervision under a trained nurse and helpers, during the day, while their parents are at work. Twenty-two little children feel the warmth of paternal care, while 22 laborers are free to do their work. As we enter, the tiny children topple all over each other in their eagerness to greet us, for they know very well those with whom I came.

One of them is Mr. Hankinson, leader of the English Society of Friends Relief Action, the other his assistant, Countess Martha Bethlen. It was Mr. Hankinson who originated this little day home and quite a number of other institutions besides, proving thereby, that satisfactory results may be at the end, even with modest instruments, provided they are applied with judgment and care.

A PRIMITIVE NURSERY.

The day home is opened at 7 o'clock in the morning. The mothers bring their children, but only those mothers who must go out to work. At the home the children receive a hot bath, their clothes are changed and they are fed and cared for all day. The little people play about in uniform, knitted dresses and red overalls in 3 little rooms, that only a loving heart could turn into a semblance of a home.

In the neighboring barracks there is a hot bath and the whole troop of the colony children come here to bath under the supervision of the nurse. Two baths and huge caldrons constitute the whole equipment and yet every child comes here with joy. Every one has a turn once a week and there is much noise, laughter and merriment.

Mr. Hankinson in showing us the little institutions provides us with clever and practical advice.

"You see, my methods are quite simple. When I wanted to establish the day home and bath, at first everyone was astonished. Of course. When anyone in Budapest intends to establish an institutions, he thinks first of some large building to begin with. And yet very healthy institutions may be constructed with a few necessities and simple pieces of furniture. It is not necessary to pine for Carrara marble or Persian carpets.

"In establishing the nursery I had but one object in view. There would be room in it for such children, whose mothers are obliged to go out to work and we must as far as we can to relieve the position of the wage earning mother in every way. The tragedy of an unfortunate child gave me the initiative. The mother went away to work and the child played around the fireplace, fell into the fire and was burned. Mothers going out to work must therefore be relieved from this anxiety that they may devote all their energy to their work."

Mr. Hankinson's hand is apparent in every phase of the little refugee town's life. He established a sewing room where the women and elder girls are taught to sew without charge under a trained teacher and these courses are well attended. In fact 90 members attend this class 5 times a week from 5-7, each one sewing for herself and thus learning a trade.

"Because, you see," Mr. Hankinson explained," people want to work, but they must be trained to do so."

The means are primitive, the outlay practically a few crowns and it needs no great supervision either, only the realization of the basic principle, that alms do not relieve poverty. There is only one remedy: Work.

A low ceiling room in one of the barracks is the medical center of Dr. Bela Crémer, who leads this primitive institution with great devotion. This is the source of the protection of prospective mothers and infants and this institution—if I may use the expression, is Mr. Hankinson's hobby. At the initiative of this Englishman two trained nurses perform service besides the physician who calls on prospective mothers and new-born infants each day. In this manner considerable medical supervision is exercised over the colony and its beneficial results are felt, as it sufficiently demonstrated by even one example. For instance, before Mr. Hankinson's action tuberculosis was the greatest enemy of the little Colony. But today, thanks to Mr. Hankinson, the whole Colony has become stronger. Recently Mr. Hankinson succeeded in obtaining 6 beds for the tubercular children at one of the Budapest sanatoriums. But the worst 6 tuberculosis patients for the 6 beds he had obtained were none of them in a serious state. Dr. Crémer said to me, "I have no idea what we will do if Mr. Hankinson leaves us some day."

TRANSYLVANIAN SKILL.

Frankly it is difficult to enumerate all the social achievements initiated by Mr. Hankinson with aid of the gifts and donations of the English Society of Friends and the English and American Unitarian Women's Leagues among the refugees. He gives the children morning and afternoon feeding in the school. He organizes their feeding under medical supervision. He gives material for needle work, that the girls in the school may get accustomed to work. And further it is in a small room at the Bocskay Colony that Mr. Hankinson is again at home, i. e., in Mr. Kállay's workshop. Here the boys are occupied two hours a day. They model and carve wood and work in clay. They make clever handwork and like the occupation. Most of the boys are very clever and no wonder, for they are Transylvanians.

Mr. Hankinson tells me:

"When I was down in Transylvania, I observed what a talented race the Transylvanian was. Here in the capital, refugee children would forget even what they knew, so I have seen to it that they should not."

And he has people to help him:

Dr. Crémer at the Augusta telep, Miss Eva Ádám, the Transylvanian writer, and Mr. Kállay at the workshop. Besides these two organizations at the Au-

---

keep it active and effective; and, last and not least, because an ever-widening group of perfectly honest people are constantly spreading such falsities which to them are truth, and as "truth" ought to be spread!

As regards Turkey, particularly, two facts should not be lost sight of, and they are first, that underlying the Armenian trouble is an unsettled political situation. Many of the atrocity tales had their genesis years back when it was deemed necessary to influence the policy of the British Government and to prepare the public mind for the incorporation of Armenia into the Russian Empire. Even today, under changed conditions, the question is fundamentally a political one.

But it is true that religion has played a large part in what an English writer, C. F. Dixon-Johnson—whose pamphlet "The Armenians" I have before me—calls, the defamation of a friendly, brave, and chivalrous people. He instances the wholehearted and generous testimony to this effect from returned English soldiers, both officers and enlisted men. Mr. Johnson quotes from the instructions cabled to a correspondent of an American paper by Mr. Gordon Bennet, as follows:

> "The correspondent is to take no sides and express no opinions of his own. In many cases it would appear that the matter sent to the papers is biassed against the Turks. This implies an injustice, against which even a criminal on trial is protected."

Mohammedanism, little understood by the average person (and made synonomous oftentimes with Turkish nationality) is misrepresented by religious adversaries—missionaries and others in like manner—for must not one find reprehensible any religion that it is one's business to attempt to replace with another?

Mr. Johnson closes his pamphlet with the following words:

> "No apology is needed for honestly endeavoring to show how a nation with whom we were closely allied for many years and which possesses the same faith as millions of our fellow-subjects, has been condemned for perpetrating horrible excesses against humanity on 'evidence' which, when not absolutely false, is grossly and shamefully exaggerated."

As a pacifist who sees atrocity stories as part and parcel of a war-game, to be hated and outlawed; as an internationalist who accepts the Turk with both his good and bad qualities—as any nationalist should be accepted; as a religionist who places humanity above class or creed—*I* make no apology for protesting against what I believe to be false propaganda (however innocently it may have been repeated); and for asking that both sides of the Turco-Armenian question be studied and weighed without animus or prejudice. To say that "the Turkish side is the tyrant's side" is to indict a whole nation, and that, I contend, is as unethical and unjust as it is impossible.

Sincerely yours,

MARY C. TRASK.

New York City.

gusta and Bocskay colonies, Mr. Hankinson has about four others for refugees in different parts of the city. They all have common characteristics: they are developed from modest surroundings, are excellently organized and work very well.

Mr. Hankinson tells me:

"We have established all the organizations that they may be easily continued. They need no large financial outlay, only honest work. The work of our Relief mission, as well as those of all other foreign missions, will be shortly terminated. It is the duty of the Hungarian public to supplement them with its own resources."

He added further:

"Great work must be done here, very great work. It must not be left half done. We installed the work and we hope that it will be continued."

When they go away? Yes. Out there at the barracks, at the poverty stricken homes, how accustomed they grew not to comforts, but just to the simple necessities of life—thanks to the foreign missions. And they are all thinking today:

"What, when they go away?"

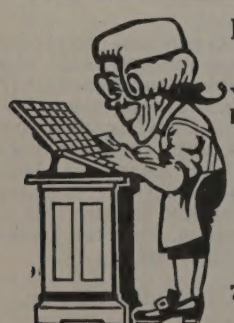
"The News" (Buda-Pest).

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

The annual meeting of the League was held in Washington, April 28-30. The delegates from the Chicago branch of the League reported at their May 9 meeting a delightful conference of delegates representing eleven different states, many plans for future effort made and very definite accomplishments. The organization will continue its headquarters in Washington, with Mrs. George T. Odell, as Executive Secretary, and concentrate along the lines of political action, while organization headquarters will be maintained in Chicago.

The outstanding things done were reported as (1) The appointment of a committee of three women with Miss Lucy Brenham as Executive Secretary, to work in Washington for the recognition of the Russian Republic. (2) Through the efforts of the women of the League a bill has been passed by which three million dollars' worth of medical supplies, on the other side at the signing of the Armistice, has been turned over to Russia. (3) The League did some active lobbying at Washington for the extension of a twenty-four million dollar credit to Austria, which has been granted.

Write for further particulars of the many activities of the League to Miss Ella Boynton, 1010 Fine Arts Building, Chicago.



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